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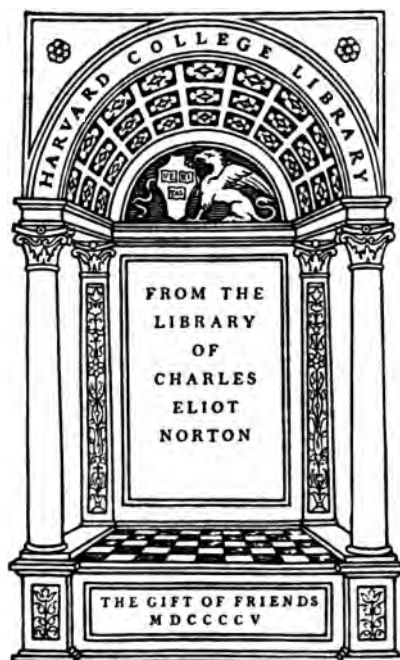
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SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

B. B. MINOR, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

VOL. II.

FEBRUARY, 1845.

NO. II.

'NEWS FROM VIRGINIA.'

WRITTEN BY

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH,

AND FIRST PUBLISHED IN LONDON, IN THE YEAR

1608.

LOCAL AGENTS.

S. HART, Sr., Charleston, S. Carolina.
BELL & ENTWISLE, Alexandria, D. C.
FRANCE TAYLOR, Washington, D. C.
BRAVO & MORGAN, New-Orleans.

KNIGHT & COLBURN, Baltimore, Maryland.
J. COLON, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
JORDAN & Co., Boston, Massachusetts.
E. P. NASH, Petersburg, Va.

RICHMOND, VA.

PUBLISHED BY WM. MACFARLANE.

1845.

PRICE, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

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FOR 1845.

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B. B. MINOR.

(Selected by Americus South.)

Richmond, Virginia.

A-

TRV E R E L A

*From Library of
Prof. Charles Clark Minton*
tion of fveh occurences

and accidents of noate as hath

happened in Virginia since the first

planting of that Collony, which is now

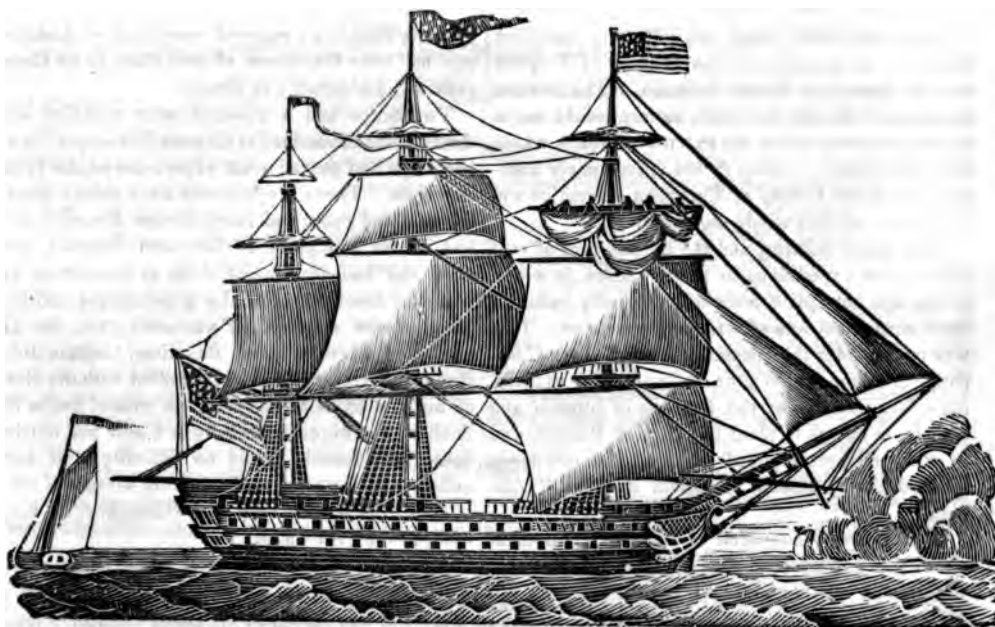
resident in the South part thereof, till

the last returne from

thence.

pseud. for John Smith

*Written by Th: Watson, Gent^{le} one of said Collony, to a
worshipfull friend of his, in England.*



LONDON.

Printed for Iohn Tappe, and are to be solde at the Grey-
hound in Paules-Church-yard, by W. W.

1608.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following "True Relation" if not the first, is certainly among the first accounts of this Country published after its successful settlement. It was, as will be seen, actually written by that Master Spirit, Captain John Smith; and was published only one year after the Settlement at Jamestown.

It is hoped that its value, antiquarian, literary and historical, will amply entitle it to the favor of the public, and, in the estimation of our readers, to the space it occupies in the Messenger.

The object has been to make this issue as nearly a *fac simile*, as possible, that it might be a specimen of the style, spelling and typography of the early part of the 17th century.

The original, the only one known to be extant, belongs to the New York Historical Society.

That we may not be suspected of filling our pages with *worthless old* matter, we will state its pecuniary value. A few such historical tracts have recently been sold, in Boston, and bought, at very high prices, for Mr. Sparks and others, who had authorised them to be purchased at any price. The copy from which the following was printed cost upwards of ten dollars.

The substance of it may be found in Smith's History of Virginia—which is but a collection of tracts by different authors—in that portion ascribed to William Simons, D. D. That work is rare and costly; and Captain Smith's exploits are best told by himself.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1608, when the following narrative first made its appearance, the History of Virginia was the history of North America. The interest it possesses is not, therefore, merely local; nor is it confined even within the extensive domain which was once called Virginia;* but is intimately associated with the history of European enterprise and the destiny of this whole continent.

After many failures, and the expenditure of vast treasures in expeditions to these shores, in which genius and enterprise were often signally united, a small settlement was effected at Jamestown. This was made under the auspices of the London Company, to whom Sir Walter Raleigh, after expending a large portion of the fortunes of himself and friends, in efforts to plant the City of Raleigh and in other adventures, had assigned the privileges granted him by Queen Elizabeth and the Parliament.

This company consisted of English gentlemen, merchants and adventurers; many of them of great wealth and distinction. At their head was Sir

* "But this Virginia is a Country in America between the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean: on the South lyeth Florida: on the North nova Francia: as for the West thereof, the limits are unknowne."—*Smith's Hist. of Va.*, vol. 1, p. 113.

Some of the Charters described it as reaching from Sea to Sea.

Thomas Smith, an eminent merchant of London, who had been Governor of the East India Company and ambassador to Russia.

Two Ships and a Pinnace were provided and their command confided to Captain Christopher Newport, who had gained great experience on the Western seas. These preparations were chiefly due to the zeal and energy of Bartholomew Gosnold, who had visited the parts of Northern Virginia, and filled the imaginations of those at home with his romantic descriptions of the pleasantness and fertility of the country. Fortunately, too, for his cherished schemes, about this time, Captain John Smith had returned to England filled with the glory of his past exploits and with an ardent desire for farther adventures, especially in a new and untried field; and Gosnold found no difficulty in at once enlisting all the powers of this truly wonderful man.

John Smith was born at Willoughby, in England, in the year 1579.

At a very early age he gave signs of a restless and romantic spirit; and meditated running off to sea, "but was stayed by his father's death." Casting off the shackles which bound his genius to the counting-room, in which his grasping guardian had placed him, he visited many countries, in various capacities, of servant, soldier and traveller. He devoted himself particularly to the study of Military Science: before he had attained the age

of seventeen "he built himself a booth in the woods and gave himself to the study of military history and tactics, at the same time practising with his horse and lance."

His chief exploits were performed in wars with the Turks, whilst he was in the regiment of Count Meldrick of Transylvania. He slew in single combat three of the principal champions of the Turkish army, and hence obtained his coat of arms, three Turks' heads, in a shield, with the motto, "vincere est vivere." After this he was wounded in battle, taken prisoner and sent by the Bashaw Bogul as a slave to his mistress, Tragabigzanda, at Constantinople. But by his grace and intelligence he captivated this lady, who sent him with a kind letter to her brother in Cambrian Tartary, intending to prevent him from being maltreated. But her brother suspecting her attachment, treated his unfortunate captive with the greatest cruelty; in-somuch, that Smith killed him, mounted his horse and made his escape into Russia, where he was received with kindness and attention.

At length he found his friends in Transylvania, from whom he received liberal presents of money, with which he was enabled to travel through Germany, France, Spain and Morocco; after which he returned to his native country.

Thus fitted by his experience, love of adventure and indomitable courage to open the way for civilization in a savage wilderness, and by his renown and extraordinary character so well calculated to engage the attention and inspire the confidence of others, in the prime of manhood, just twenty-eight, he embarked every thing in the plans of Gosnold.

During his travels in so many countries, he had amassed no small amount of valuable information: his knowledge of the world was profound and in managing the untutored savages he seems to have exerted matchless skill and diplomacy.

On the voyage hither, the minds of some of the leaders became jealous of Smith's renown and influence, and under pretence that he was plotting a conspiracy, they put him in confinement; and afterwards excluded him from the Council. But though thus persecuted he was the stay and preserver of the infant Colony; and the jealousy of his enemies only incited him to greater daring in exploring the country and supplying the Colony. He lived down the malice of his enemies, was made Cape Merchant, admitted to the Council—finally made President; and in every station was the master spirit of the whole enterprise. So that it is exceedingly doubtful whether without his achievements, the settlement at Jamestown would not have shared the same fate with the colony at Roanoke.

Such was our author, whose fame is known to all; but this small tribute was deemed due to his memory. Fully to appreciate his narrative, the imagination should revert to the times and the scenes in which it was written. All the traces of

our advanced civilization and wonderful progress must be obliterated. The little light of civilization which this hand-full of men had struck on this wilderness Continent had then only flashed upon the Chesapeake and along its mighty tributaries: on shore it was soon intercepted by the gloom of interminable forests, that had been penetrated only here and there by a few adventurous rays. Wherever it shone was seen the startled gaze of the savage, as it lighted up his swarthy countenance.

But feeble and glimmering as it was, Europe looked to it with peculiar anxiety and interest. Now it nearly expired from the indifference, the recklessness, or dissensions of those who were to cherish it; now it was nearly extinguished by the blast of war that ruthlessly assailed it: again it sent forth a revived radiance, when fed and fanned by the prudence and harmony of the Colonists or by succor from the Mother Country. There, during all these vicissitudes, all classes watched it with intensest interest. Friends watched it as the lamp of life to dear ones far away and surrounded by perils. Statesmen and Kings watched it as they thought of revenue and prerogative: the Merchant and Speculator, as they thought of the treasures with which ransacked Mexico had filled their hopes and imaginations: the Philanthropist, as he thought of the triumphs of civilization and knowledge; and the Christian, as he kindled at the thought of extending the Kingdom of his Redeemer and preparing the soul of "the poor Indian," not for

"Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste;"—

such an earthly paradise, from its natural loveliness and magnificence, he was said already to enjoy;—but for the Spirit-land of his own true God.*

When this picture of things as they then were has been impressed upon the mind, the brilliance that now surrounds us may be poured upon it, to exhibit the wonderful contrast. The scene rapidly changes, like Dagueres' Magical Pictures. The Indian changes to the Anglo Saxon; forests to cultivated fields and thriving and beautiful towns—and a wilderness becomes "as it is at this day!"

The little light at Jamestown is now, not eclipsed by greater ones, but alas! extinguished! The ruins of a church and a few tomb-stones alone remain. If such shall ever be the fate of the splendor that now beams around our country, may its last rays fall upon some such evidence, that ours was a people whose God was the Lord. Acting upon this hope will irradiate our land with the smiles of Heaven; which impart to Nations the truest and greatest glory and can alone preserve them from the darkness of decay.—[Ed. Mess.

* When Sir Walter Raleigh assigned his charter to the London Company, he gave £100 for the conversion of the Natives of Virginia.

THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

FEBRUARY, 1845.

To the Courteous Reader.

Courteous, kind and indifferent Readers, whose willingnesse to reade and heare this following discourse, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskillfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-slipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incur the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the courteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apologie for himselfe, shews the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this Relation by chance, (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well-willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre fuorth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto us: but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the books were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen, but since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Capitaine *Smith*, who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*, I thought good to make the like Apolo-

gie, by shewing the true Author as farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it ouer with patience, and if worthy an applauditie, to reserue it to the Author, whose pains in my judgment deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke, what more may be expected concerning the scituation of the Country, the nature of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, and the end and effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written, only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consent of all (that I haue conuersed withall) as well marriners as others, which haue had employment that way; is that the Country is excellent and pleasant, the clime temperate and healthfull, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succeede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christ's fold, who now, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganism, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators and worthy aduenturers, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsell, labours, godly and industrious endeours, I beseech the mightie *Jehouah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heauenly ayde and holy assistance.

Farewell.

I. H.

A

True relation of such occurrences
and accidents of note, as hath hapned in VIR-
GINIA, since the first planting of that Collony,
which is now resident in the South part
 thereof, till the last returne.

Kinde Sir, commendations remiembred, etc. You shall understand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arrived safely uppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or five daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26 of Aprill: the first land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went ashore with the Captaine, and in coming aboard, they were assailed with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot, in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrowes retired without harme, and in that place was the Box opened, wherein the Counsell for Virginia was nominated: * and arriving at the place wee are now seated, the Counsel was sworn, and the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought ashore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discover the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some

"* But their orders for Government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in Virginia." * * *

"That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, Iohn Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, Iohn Ratliffe, Iohn Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces. Vntill the 13 of May, they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an oration made, why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councell as the rest."

Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I. pp, 150-1.

places broader and in some narrower, the Countrie (for the most part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindly entreating us, daunsing and feasting vs with Strawberies, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions, wherof we had plenty: for which Captain Newport kindly requited their least fauours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, Beades or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindly to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh ourselues in a little Ile foure or five sauages came vnto vs, which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after, in our journey, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and arriuing at Arsattecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, most kindly entertained vs, giuing us in a guide to go with vs up the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperour taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindly. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an Ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones in ye midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad dispereth the stream, as there is not past five or sixe foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes have left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The South side is plaine low ground, and the North side high mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistering spangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitsunday) after dinner we returned to the fals, leaving a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honored for King followed us by the Riuer. That afternoon we trifled in looking upon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe,) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatan's, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet; returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the next day to observe the height thereof and so with many signes of loue we departed. The next day the

Queen of Agamatuck kindly intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I do not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke, the people the next morning seemed kindly to content vs, yet we might perceive many signes of a more Jealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arsetecke had given vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischief at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue visited Paspahagh and Tappahanocke, but the instant change of the wind being faire for our return, we repaired to the fort with all speed, where the first we heard was that 400 Indians the day before had assailed the fort and surprised it, had not God, (beyond all their expectations) by meanes of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordinnances and Muskets, caused them to retire, they had entered the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes being then in* [dry fats] and few ready but certaine Gentlemen of their own, in which conflict, moste of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnaes, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. With all speede we Palisadoed our Fort: (each other day) for sixe or seauen daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes and foure or five cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse we know not, but as they report, three were slaine and diuers hurt.

Captaine Newport hauing set things in order, set saile for England the 22d of June, leauing prouision for 13. or 14. weeks. The day before the Ships departure, the King of Pamaunke sent the Indian that had met us before in our discoverie, to assure vs peace, our fort being then palisadoed round and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit that through some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gosnold with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part discontented with one another, insomuch that he was deposed from his

* * * "for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats." * * *

"The Presidents overweening ielousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortifications, but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall."

Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I., p. 151.

Presidencia, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such abundance of Fowles into the Riuer, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, whereuppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Yron which we made into little chissels, the president and Capt. Martin's sickness constraind me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no pains in making houses for the company, who notwithstanding our misery little ceased their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were moste of our chieftemen either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starve and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do anything for their owne reliefe without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteen days spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to ye mouth of ye riuer to Kegquouhtan* an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the Riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with careles kindeness, offred us little pieces of bread, and small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like manner I entertained their kindness, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extra:ordinary kindenes, I liberally contented with free giftes of such trifles as wel contented them: findeing this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceites, for now they were no lesse desirous of our Commodities than we of their Corne: under colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discover the Towne, their Corne, and force, to try their intent, in that they desired me up to their houses: which well understanding, with foure shot I visited them, with fish, oysters, bread and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, for well I might with twentie men have freighted a shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated upon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other part with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adjoyning to the maine by a necke of Land of sixtie yardes. With sixteene Bushels of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountered with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboard me, being the inhabi-

* Hampton.

tants of Waroskoyack, a kingdome on the south side of the Riuer, which is in breadth 5 miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne, and with neare thirtie bushells I returned to the Fort, the very name whereof gave great comfort to our despairing company: time thus passing away and hauing not above 14 daies victualls left, some motions were made about our president's and Capt. Archer's going for England to procure a supply, in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses and our President and Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should go towards Powhatan, to trade for corne. Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine and while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to Topohanack, where arriving, there was but certain women and children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere, truck they durst not, corne they had plenty, and to spoil I had no comission: In my returne to Paspahagh, I traded with that churlish and trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 bushells of corne, they offred to take our pieces and swords, yet by stelhth, but seeming to dislike it, they were ready to assault vs, yet standing upon our guard in coasting the shore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corne and trade, but least we should be constrained, either to indure overmuch wrong or directly fal to revenge, seeing them dog vs from place to place, it being night, and our necessitie not fitt for warres, wee tooke occasion to returne with 10 bushells of corne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies to that nation of Paspahagh but each time returned with 8 or 10 bushells. All things being now ready for my journey to Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8 men and mysef for the barge, as well for discouerie, as trading, the Pinnace, 5 Marriners, and 2 landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places. The 9 of November I set forward for the discouerye of the country of Chikhamania, leaving the pinnace the next tide to followe and stay for my comming at Point Weanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at Paspahagh, 8 miles above our fort: that afternoon I stayed the eb, in the bay of Paspahagh with the Indians: towards the euening certaine Indians hailed me, one of them being of Chickahamania, offered to conduct me to his country, the Paspahagheans gruded thereat: along we went by moonlight, at midnight he brought us before his Towne, desiring one of our men to go up with him, whom he kindly entertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning I went up to the towne and shewed them what copper and hatchets they should haue for corne, each familie seeking to give me most content: so long they caused me to stay

y't 100 at least was expecting my comming by the riuer with corne, what I liked I bought, and least they should perceive my too great want I went higher vp the riuer: this place is called Manosquosick a quarter of a mile from the riuer, containing thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer: right against ye same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ielands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish and foule of all sorts: a mile from thence is a towne called Oraniooke, I further discovered the Townes of Mansa, Apahaocke, Werawahone, and Mamanahut, at eche place kindly used, especially at the last, being the hart of the Country, where were assembled 200 people with such abundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might have laded a ship: I returned to Paspahagh, and considering ye want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with ye ebb, by midnight I arriued at our Fort, where I found our Pinnis run aground; the next morning I returned againe: the second day I ariued at Mamanahut, where ye people, hauing heard of my coming were ready with 3 or 400. baskets little and great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindness I returned: at my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuer, which in regard of ye echo seemed a peale of ordnance, many birds and fowles they see us dayly kill that much feared them, so desirous of trade were they y't they would follow me with their canowes, and for anything give it me, rather then returne it back: so I unladed againe my 7. or 8. hogsheds at our Fort. Hauing thus by God's assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with God's prouidence, still grew mutinous, in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith for his misdeamenor, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offered to strike him with some of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the smith was by a jury condemned to be hanged, but vppon the ladder continuing verrey obstinate, as hoping vpon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent and declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captain Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condened and shot to death. This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer of Checka Hamania: this third time I discovered ye Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, Moysenock, Righkhanck, Nechanidock, Martalut, Attamuspincke, and diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreased yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort: our store being now indifferently wel provided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captaine Martin and mysef, standing chiefly against it, and in fine,

after many debatings, pro & contra, it was resolved to stay a further resolution: this matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discovery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of ye necessitie we had to take in prouision while it was to be had: 40 miles I passed up ye riuier, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, and 3 fatham and a half deep, exceeding osey, many great low marshes and many high lands, especially about ye midst at a place called Moysonicke, a Peninsule of 4 miles circuit, betwixt too riuers joyned to the main, by a neck of 40 or 5 yards and 40 or 50 yards from the high water marke: on both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corn-field, the lower end a low marsh, more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes and mallads; and diuers sorts of fowles none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there I had not seene, of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffs commonly red, white and yellowe colored sand, and under red and white clay, fish great plenty, and people abundance, the most of their inhabitants in view of ye necke of Land, where a better seate for a town cannot be desired: at the end of 40 miles this riuier inuironeth many low llands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it uniteth itselfe, at a place called Apokaut, the highest Towne inhabited. 10 miles higher I discovered with the barge; in the midway, a great tree hindred my passage, which I cut in two: heere the riuier became narrower, 8. 9. or 10 foote at a high water, and 6 or 7 at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift and the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy soyle, this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, so it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue been able to resolue this doubt, and to discharge the imputation of malicious tungs, that halfe suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as myselfe, we resolved to hire a Canowe and returne with the barge to Apokaut, there to leaue the barge secure, and put ourselves vpon the aduventure: the country onely a vast and wilde wilderness and but onely that Towne: within three or foure mile we hired a Canowe and 2 Indians to row vs ye next day a fowling: hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to ride, with expresse charge not any to goe ashore til my returne. Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they wel consider the friendship of the Indians, in conducting me, the desolateness of the country, the propabilitie of some lacke, and the malicious iudges of my actions at home, as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in England, might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as well for his owne discharge as for

the publike good. hauing 2 Indians for my guide and 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge: hauing discovered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuier stil kept his depth and bredth, but much more combed with trees: here we went a shore (being some 12 miles higher than ye barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our victuals: one of the Indians I tooke with me to see the nature of the soil, and to crosse the boughts of the riuier, the other Indian I left with M. Robinson and Thomas Emry, with their matches light and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat at the first sight of any Indian, but within a quarter of an hour I heard a loud cry and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece, supposed them surprised and that the Indians had betraid us, presently I seized him and bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly and seemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went discoursing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I presented in discharging a French pistoll: by that I had charged againe, 3 or 4 more did the like, for the first fell down and fled: at my discharge they did the like, my hinde I made my barricado, who offered not to strue, 20 or 30 arrows were shot at me, but short, 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the King of Pamauck called Opeckankehough, with 200 men inuironed me, each drawing their bowe, which done they laid them upon the ground, yet without shot, my hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he discovered me to be the Captaine, my request was to retire to ye boate, they demanded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, only me they would reserue: the Indian importuned me not to shoot.

In retiring, being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth, thus surprised, I resolved to trie their mercies, my armes I caste from me, til which none durst approach me: being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King, I presented him with a compasse dial, describing by my best means the use thereof, where at he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets, with kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and John Robinson slaine, with 20 or 30 arrowes in him. Emry I saw not, I perceiued by the abundance of fires all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they used me with what kindenes they could: approaching their Towne which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being

advertised of this accident came forth to meet them, the King well guarded, with 20 bowmen, 5 flank and rear, and each flank before him a sword and a peece, after him the like, then a bowman, then I, on each hand a bowman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led forth amongst the trees in a Cishion,* eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiver at his back grimly painted: on eache flank a sargeant, the one running alwaies towards the front, the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order, this being a good time continued, they caste them selues in a ring with a daunce, and so each man departed to his lodging, the Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper, what I left was reserved for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning three women presented me three greate platters of fine bread, more venison than ten men could deuour I had, my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gave me againe, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection: much they threatened to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahagh, who shewed at our forte great signes of sorrow for this mischance: the Kinge tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships and sayling the Seas, and of our God; what he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonnan, cloathed like me, the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles was a great turning of salt water: I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahagh, with a letter I would write, by which they shold vnderstand, how kindly they vsed me, and that I was wel least they should reuenge my death: this he granted and sent three men in such weather, as in reason were impossible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deverted in describing the ordnances and the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Capt. Newport would take of them, at his returne, their intent I incerted the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging, with his sword to have slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to have effected his purpose: the cause I knew not til the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he told me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called Youghtanan, hauing feasted me, he further led me

* In Smith's History it is styled a *Bissom*.

to another branch of the riuer called Mattapanient, to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of these Countreies; a house of the great Emperour of Pewkakan whom as yet I supposed to be at the Fale, to him I tolde him I must goe and so return to Paspahagh, after this foure or five days march, we returned to Rasawrack, the first towne they brought me to, where binding the Mats in bundles, they marched two days iourney, and crossed the Riuer of Youghtanan, where it was as broad as Thames: so conducting me to a place called Menapacute in Pamaunke, where ye King of that nation called Kekataugh, hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort kindly inuited to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content to me. By this the great King has foure or five houses, each containing fourscore or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated upon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country the riuer before the which his crooked course, causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses and many large plaines are here together inhabited, more abundance of fish and fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined: the King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me with a marke at six score to strike therewith, but to spoil the practise I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented though a chance supposed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke, a kingdom vpon another Riuer northward; the cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had been in the Riuer of Pamaunke who hauing been kindly entertained by Powhatan, their Emperour, they returned thence, and discovered the Riuer of Topahanocke, where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slew the King and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Capitaine, and using mee kindly, the next day we departed.

This River of Topahanock seemeth in breadth not much lesse than that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called Cuttata women, upwards is Marriugh tacum Tapohanock, and Nantaugs tacum, at Topmanahocks, the head issuing from many Mountains, the next night I lodged at a hunting towne of Powhatans and the next day arriued at Waranacomoco vpon the riuer of Pamaunke where the great King is resident: by the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two, called Payankatanck. The most of this Countrey though desert, yet exceeding fertile, good timber, most hills and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, their Emperour proudly lying vpon a Bedstead a foote high vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with many

Chaynes of great Pearles about his necks, and couered with a great Couering of Rahaugheums: At his heade sat a woman, at his feete another, on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were ranned his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a rank, and behinde them as many young women, each a great Chaîne of white Beades ouer their shoulders: their heades painted in redde, and with such a graue and Majesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Conough's relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me upon the same. Hee asked mee the cause of our coming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouerpoured, neare put to retreat and by extreme weather put to this shore, where landing at Chésipiacke, the people shot us, but at Kequoughtan they kindly vsed us, we by signes demanded fresh water, they described vs vp the River was all fresh water, at Paspahagh, also they kindly vsed, our Pinnise being leake wee were inforced to stay to mend her, til Captain Newport my father came to conduct vs away. He demanded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him in that I would have occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water, my father had a childe slaine, which wee supposed Monocan his enemie had done, whose death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, hee began to describe mee the Countreys beyond the Falles, with many of the rest, confirming what not only Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had been prisoner to Powhatan had before tolde mee, but some called it five days, some sixe, some eight, when the sayde water dashed amongst many stones and rocks, each storme which caused oft tymes the heade of the river to bee brackish: Anchawachuck he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother, whose death he would revenge. Hee described also upon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate Men, and warred with the people Moyaoncer, and Pataromeeke, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, under his Territories, where the yeare before they had slaine an hundred, he signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them he described people with short coates, sleeues to the elbows, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdoms hee described to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie Riuer, issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas, the people clothed at Ocamahowan, he also confirmed, and the Southerly Countreies also, as the rest, that reported us to

be within a day and a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock, 6 frō Roonock, to the Southe part of the backe Sea: he described a countrie called Anone, where they have abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours. I requited his discourse, seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were under his Territories. In describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subject to our great King, whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gave him to vnderstand the noyse of trumpets and terrible manner of fighting were vnder captain Newport my father, whom I intituled the Werowance which they call King of all the waters, at his greatnesse hee admired, and not a little feared: hee desired mee to forsake Paspahagh, and to live with him upon his Riuer, a Countrie called Capa Howasicke: hee promised to give me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to feede vs, Hatchets and Copper we should make him and none should disturbe us. This request I promised to performe; and thus hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me: hee sent me home with 4 Men, one that usually carried my Gowne and Knapsack after me, two other loaded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This Riuer of Pamaunke is not past twelve mile from that we dwell on, his course northwest, and westerly, as the other. Weracomoco is upon salt water, in bredth two miles, and so keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles, where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth itselfe into two partes, the one part to Youghtand, as broad as Thames and nauigable, with a Boate three score or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie, exceeding crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The countrey of Youghtoman, or no lesse worth, onely it is lower, but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Above Manapacumter, many high sandie Mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, seeming if not of seuerall Mines: The other branch, a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not near so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: Here is their best Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the Riuer, as I see in the discouerie therof with Captain Newport, is halfe a mile broad, and within foure miles not aboue a Musket Shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the deuisions. Kiskirk the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their Religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: three or foure dayes after my taking seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a Battle began at ten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines

of wheat, continuing this order till they have included six or seven hundred in a halfe circle, and after that two or three more circles in like mañer, a hand bredth from other : that done, at each song, they put betwixt every three, two, or five graines, a little sticke, so counting as an old woman her Pater noster.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnies of Weasels, and other vermine, with a Crounet of feathers on his head, painted as ugly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions, great cakes of Deere suet, Deare and Tobacco he casteth in the fire, till sixe a clocke in the Evening, their howling would continue, ere they would depart. Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselves in a round circle, a good distance from the towne, where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day : so fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they worship, a more uglier thing cannot be described : one they haue for chief sacrifices, which also they call Quiyoughquosick : * to cure the sicke, a man with a Battle, and extreame howling, showing, singing, and such violent gestures, and Anticke actions ouer the patient will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient out of their vnable stomacke or any diseased place, as no Labour will more trie them. Tobacco they offer the water in passing, in fowle weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping : their Kinges they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets and copper : the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection. Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded other.

For the Croune, their heyres inherit not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successiue the women's heyres : For the Kings haue as many women as they will, his subjects two and most but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Fort by any persuasions : but in certain olde hunting houses of Paspahagh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne-rise, we set forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre,

* Dr. Simons says, "But their chiefe God they worship is the *Deuill*. Him they call *Oker*. * * In some part of the Country they haue yearly a sacrifice of children. * * This sacrifice they hold to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Oker* or *Deuill*, and all their other *Quiyoughquosighes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them."—*Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I. pp. 138, 140-1.*

Beverley gives an account of his stealthy examination of their *Quioccasan*, or house of worship ; and of their *Idol*, *Okeo*, *Quioccos*, or *Kiwasa*.—*Bev. Hist. Va. p. 165 and seq.*

where each man with truest signes of joy they could expresse, welcommed me, except M. Archer, and some two or three of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine Martin : great blame and imputation was laid upon mee by them, for the losse of our two men which the Indians slew : insomuch that they purposed to depose mee, but in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport, who arriuing there the same night, so tripled our joy, as for a while these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which Captaine Newport in short time did plainly see. Now was Master Scriuener, Captaine Martin, and myselfe, called Counsellors.

Within fise or sixe dayes after the arrivall of the Ship, by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and private provision, many of our old men diseased, and of our new for want of lodging perished. The Emperour Powhatan each weeke once or twice sent me many presents, of Deare, bread, Ramoughcans, halfe always for my father, whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me : and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at last Captaine Newport resolved to go see him. Such acquaintance I had among the Indians and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them, euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing, till I had first rec'd their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion ; but after acquaintance they usually came into the Fort at their pleasure : The President, and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newport's greatnesse I had so described, as they conceiued him the chiefe, the rest his Children, Officers and seruants. We had agreed with ye King of Paspahagh, to conduct two of our men to a place called Pauawicke beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparrelled. Wee landed him at Waraskoyack, where playing the villaine, and deluding us for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after, without going further. Captain Newport, Maister Scriuener, and my selfe, found the mouth of Pamauncks riuer, some 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henrie, the chanell good, as before expressed.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, being iealous of the intent of this politic saluage, to discouer his intent the better, I with 20 shot armed in Jacks went a shore, the Bay where he dwelleth, hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanell all of, being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse than a mile, the Emperor's sonne call Nankaquauis, the captaine that took me, and diuers others of his chiefe men conducted me to their

kings habitation, but in the midway I was intercepted by a great creek over which they had made a bridge of grained stakes and railes, the King of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the journey the King had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meete me at the right landing, when I found myselfe first deceyued, and knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceed from others feare, though fewelyked the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The Indians seeing the weaknesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow and took me in of the middest with four or five more, being landed we made a guard for the rest till all were passed, two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread, being entred the house, with loud tunes, they all made signes of greate ioy. This proud saluage, hauing his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes, as before is expressed, himselfe as vppon a throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christain, with a kinde countenance he had mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by him selfe to sit. I presented him a sute of red cloth, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Jewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration, made by three of his Nobles, if there be any amongst saluages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship.

After that, he commaunded the Queene of Apamatuck, a comely yong Saluage, to give me water, a Turkie-cocke and breade to eate: being thus feasted, he began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is hee not with you. I tolde him he remained aboard, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie coftenance hee asked me for certaine pieces which I promised him, when I went to Paspahegh, I told according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culverings, in that he so desired a great Gunne, but he refused to take them, whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to give him some of a lesse burthen, as for the other I gave him them, being sure that none could carrie them:* but where are

* Smith had promised to send Powhatan "two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Country of *Capahowisick*, for which ever esteeme him as his Sonne *Nantaquoud*." * * *

"The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where Smith having vsed the Salvages with what kindness he could, he shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* trusty servant two demi-Culverings and a mill-stone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them somewhat too heauie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs

these men you promised to come with you. I told him without, who thereupon gave order to have them brought in, two after two, ever maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselves euer with thankes, he would salute me, and caused each of them to have foure or five pounds of bread given them. This done, I asked him for the corne and ground he promised me. He told me I should have it, but he expected to have all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subjects. I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies desired, but neuer our Friends, as we presented ourselues unto him, yet that he should not doubt of our friendship; the next day our Father would give him a child of his, in full assurance of our loves, and not only that, but when he should think it conuenient, wee would deliuer under his subiection the Countrey of Manacam, and Pocough-taonack his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediately, with attentive silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me A Werowance of Powhatan, and that all his subjects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people, this profered kindness for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I tooke my leaue. The King rising from his seat, conducted me forth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, and as much he sent aboard for a present to my Father: victuals you must know is all their wealth, and the kindnes they could shew vs; arriuing at the River, the Barge was fallen so low with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee, the skies being very thicke, and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent the Sonne and Mamontacke, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee, where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, and giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take out bowes or arrowes, or offer any iniury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke: in the euening hee sent for mee to come onely with two shot with me; the company I gaue order to stand upon their guard and to maintaine two sentries at the posts all night. To my supper he set before mee meate for twenty men and seeing I could not eate, hee caused it to be given to my men: for this is a generall custom, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you

of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yee and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare."—*Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I p. 163.*

must either eate it, give it away, or carry it with you : two or three houres we spent in our ancient discourses, which done, I was with a fire sticke lighted to my lodgings.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto mee how he sent them ouer the Bay for tribute Beades : and also what Countrys paie him Beads, Copper or Skins. But seeing Captaine Nuport and Maister Scriuener comming a shore, the King returned to his house and I went to meete him, with a trumpet before him, we marched to the King : who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a boy of thirteene yeares old, called Thomas Saluage, whom he gave him as his Sonne : he requited this kindnes with each of us a great basket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and so returned to our Pinnis : the next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned with us in this manner.

Why we came armed in that sort, seeing he was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did wee doubt ? I told him it was the custom of our country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captain Nuport caused all our men to retire to the water-side, which was some thirtie score from thence : but to prevent the worst, Maister Scriuener or I were either the one or the other by the Barge, experience had wel taught me to beleue his friendship, till convenient opportunity sufficed him to betray us, but quickly this politician had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for me ; I sent for Maister Scriuener to supply my place, the King would demaund for him, I would again releeve him, and they sought to satisfy our suspition with kind Language and not being agreed to trade for Corne, he desired to see all our Copper and Hatchets together, for which he would giue us corne, with that auncient trick the Chickahamians had oft acquainted me : his offer I refused, offering first to see what he would giue for one piece, hee seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell, but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.*

Captaine Nuport would not with lesse than twelue great Coppers try his kindness, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at Chickahamania, I had for one of lease proportion : oure Hatchets he would also haue at his owne rate, for which

* Dr. Simons thus describes this. "Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education. As scorning to trade as his subjects did ; he bespake Newport in this manner.

"Captaine Newport it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles ; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together ; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value."

Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I. p. 167.

kindnes he much seemed to affect Captaine Nuport, some few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offred me a basket of two pecks, and that which I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet seemed contented and desired more ; I agreed with him the next day for two bushells, for ye ebbe now constrained us to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding, and being ready he sent a board after vs, which was bread and venizon, sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day he sent his Sonne in the morning not to bring ashore with vs any pieces, least his weomen and children should feare. Captaine Nuport's good beleefe would haue satisfied that request, yet twentie or twentie five shot we got a shore : the King importuning mee to leaue my armes aboard, much misliking my sword, pistol and target, I tolde him the men that slew my Brother with the like tearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might leaue their armes, which he still commanded to the water side, this day we spent in trading for blew Beades, and hauing neare ffreighted our Barge.

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came aboard, leauing me and Maister Scriuener a shore, to follow in Canowes ; into one I got with sixe of our men, which beeing lanchd a stone's cast from the shore stuck fast in the Oze : Maister Scriuener seeing this example, with seven or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke, but they were inforced to stay with such entertainment as a Saluage, being forced a shore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and household, instantly set up a house of mats which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestered in the Oze, called to me : six or seven of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in Ose, came to bear me out on their heades, their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow then their courtesie, excusing my denial for feare to fall in the Ose, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them : each presently gave his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperor sent his seaman Mantivas in the evening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how little he regarded that miserable cold and dirty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it, this kindnes I found, when I little expected lesse then a mischief, but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs a board : the

next day we came a shore, the King with a solemne discourse, causing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect, when as he perceived that we had a desire to invade Monacum, against whom he was no professed enemy, yet thus farre he would assist us in this enterprize: First, he would send his spies, perfectly to understand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe.

Captaine Nuport would not be seene in it himselfe, being great Werowances, they would stay at home, but I, Maister Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes and Opechankanough. The King of Pamaunke should haue 100 of his men to goe before as though they were hunting, they giuing us notice where was the advantage we should kill them, the weomen and young children he wished we should spare and bring them to him, only 100. or 150. of our men be held sufficient for this exploit; our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might convey, each man a piece till we were past the stones, and there ioin them, to pass our men by water, if any were shot, his men should bring them backe to our boates, this faire tale had almost made Captain Nuport undertake, by this means, to discouer the South Sea, which will not be without trecherie, if we ground our intent upon his constancie.

This day we spent in trading, dancing and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke sent his messenger as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him: the messenger stayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan understanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paspahagh, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This new trick he cunningly put upon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay. Opechankanoughs messenger returned that wee would not come: the next day his Daughter came to intreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine Nuport being not to be perswaded to goe, in that Powhatan had desired us to stay: sent her away with the like answer, yet the next day vpon better consideration intreatie preuailed and wee anchored at Cinquateck, the first towne aboue the parting of the riuer, where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one call Opitchapam, the other Karatough, to these I went ashore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister Scriuener, sending some presents a board to Captaine Nuport, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, weomen and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, hee seemed to reioice to see mee.

Captaine Nuport came ashore, with many kind discourses we passed that forenoone: and after

dinner Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not oue by land; Opechankanough, conducted me and Maister Scriuener by land, where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertain vs with a kind Oration, after their manner and his best prouision, kindly welcomed vs, that day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content: Captaine Nuport arriued towards euening, whom the King presented with sixe great platters of fine bread, and Pausarowmana, the next day tille noone wee traded; the King feasted all the company, and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no meanes hee would haue us depart till the next day, he had feasted vs with venizon, for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second prouision in expecting our coming: the next day he performed his promise, giuing more to us three then would haue sufficed 30—and in that we carried not away what we left, he sent it after vs to the Pinnis, with what wordes or signes of love he could expresse, we departed.

Captaine Nuport in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rock, where we supposed a mine at Cinquatecke, which done, ere midnight I arriued at Weracomoco, where our Pinnis anchored, being 20 miles from Cinquatecke, the next day we tooke leaue of Powhatan, who in regard of his kindness gaue him an Indian, hee well affected to goe with him for England in steed of his Sonne, ye cause I assure me was to know our Countries strength and condition.* ye next day we arriued at Kisdjick, the people so scornfully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed and returned to our Fort with 250 Bushells of Corne, our president being not wholly recovered of his sicknes, in discharging, his Piece brake and split his hand off, which he is not yet well recovered.

At Captaine Nuport's arriual, we were victualled for twelue weekes, and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of Aprill [1608]: Maister Scriuener and myselfe with our Shallop, accompanied him to Cape Hendrick. [Cape Henry, the mouth of the bay of Chissipiacke.]

Powhatan hauing for a farewelle, sent him fife or sixe men's loadings, with Turkeyes for swords, which hee sent him in our return to ye Fort: we discovered the Riuer of Nansamd, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testified, at our first arriual at Chésipiacke: but that iniury Captaine Nuport well reuenged at his returne, where some of them intising him to their Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a volley of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as them-

* Powhatan sent one of his men to England to make observations and to number the people. He began to take a Census by notching a stick for every man he met; but soon gave it up in despair.

selues confesse, the King at our arriual sent for me to come vnto him : I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would, as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some fortie yardes from ye shore, he signified to me to come a shore and sent a Canow with foure or five of his men, two whereof I desired to come aboard and to stay, and I would send two to talke with their King a shore, to this hee agreed: the King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and sent for victuals to entertaine the messengers.

Maister Scriuener and my selfe also, after that, went ashore: the King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day, which hauing done, we returned to the Fort, this river is a musket shot broad, each side being shoald bayes, a narrow channell, but three fadom, his course for eigheteene miles, almost directly South, and by West, where beginneth the first inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay and a white chaukie Iland, conuenient for a Fort: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the river divideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wester bought a high plaine likewise, the Northeast answerable in all respects: in these plaines are planted abundance of houses and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground, so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull and so strong a prospect, for an inuincible strong City, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene: this is within one daies iourney of Chawwonocke, the river falleth into the Kings river, within twelve miles of Cape Hendicke.

At our Fort, the tooles we had were so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessitie enforced vs to correct their brauing theverie: for hee that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One among the rest, hauing stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes, the next day with three more he came with their wooden swords in the midst of our men to steale, their custome is to take anything they can ceaze off, onely the people of Pamaunke, wee have not found stealing: but what others can steale, their King receiue.

I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords they seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride urged me to turne him from among vs, whereat he offered to strike me with his sword, which I prevented, striking him first: the rest offering to reuenge the blow, receiued such an encounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I pursued with five or six shot, and so chased them out of the Iland: * the beginning of this broyle,

* "At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, surprise vs at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted they became so insolent there

little expecting by his carriage, we durst haue resisted, hauing euen till that present, not beene contradicted, especially them of Paspashegh: these Indians within one houre, having by other Saluages, then in the Fort, vnderstood that I threatened to be reuenged, came presently of themselves, and fell to working upon our wears, which were then in hand by other Saluages, who seeing their pride so incoutered, were so submissiue, and willing to doe anything as might be, and with trembling feare, desired to be friends within three daies after: From Nawsamond, which is thirty miles from us, the King sent vs a Hatchet, which they had stolen from vs at our being there: the messenger as is the custome, also wee well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of Aprill, being at worke, in hewing down Trees, and setting Corne, an alarm caused vs with all speede to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Saluages, but vnderstanding it a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied, with the happy sight of Maister Nelson, his many perills of extreame stormes and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testifie, his care in sparing our prouision, was well; but the prouidence thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets and other tools, onely ours excepted, which of all the rest was most necessary, which might inforce vs, to thinke — either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most unconscionable deceiver of our treasures.* This happy arriual of Maister Nelson in the Phenix, hauing been then about three monthes missing, after Captaine Newport's arriual, being to all our expectations lost: albeit, that now at the last, hauing beene long crossed with tempestuous weather, and contrary windes, his so vnexpected coming, did so rauish vs with exceeding joy, that now we thought ourselves as well fited, as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull provisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs: whereupon the first thing that was concluded, was, that my selfe and Maister Scriuener should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide to discover beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements, conueniently we might: sixe or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to was no rule; the command from England was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers. This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine Smith, &c."

Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. 1, p. 171.

* "These, (the ships,) came well furnished with all things that could be imagined necessary, as Captain Smith tells us. But, however, we must always make some allowance in his account of these things. For he was a very great friend to Sir Thomas Smith; and we shall see hereafter, from several authentic papers, but especially from a Representation of our General Assembly, among the records in the Capitol, that that officer was most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, particularly in this Matter of Supplies."

Stith's Hist. of Va., p. 57.

march, fight and scirmish in the woods, their willing mindes to this action, so quickened their vnderstanding in this exercise, as in all iudgements wee were better able to fight with Powhatan's whole force: in our order of battle amongst the Trees (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot, not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece; our warrant being sealed, Maister Nelson refused to assist us with the voluntary Marriners, and himselfe as he promised, unlesse we would stand bounde to pay the hire for shippe and Marriners, for the time they stayed: and further there was some controuersie, through the diuersity of Contrary opinions, some alleadging, that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our journey should portend, yet our commission commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscreete men in the world, besides the wrong we should do to Captaine Nuport, to whom onely all discourses did belong, and to no other: the means for guides, besides the uncertaine courses of the riuer, from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie us in two houres better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes upon the riuer, each within one dayes journey of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefes, for truck and dealing only, but in loue and peace, as with the rest; if they assalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so convey, that we should not share, but admit the worst, 16 daies prouision we had of Cheese, Oatmeale and bisket, besides our randeuous, we could and might have hid in the ground. With sixe men, Captaine Martin would have vndertaken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort, and plant our Corne: yet no reason could be reason, to proceede forward, though we were going a board to set saile: These discontentes did cause so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended: yet some of vs procured petitions to set us forward, only with hope of our owne confusions, our next course was to turne Husbandmen, to fell Trees and set Corne. Fiftie of our men we employed in this service, the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ship lay expecting ye triall of certain matters, which for some cause I keep priuate: ye next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister Scriuener, and then next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, drew his bow at any that durst incounter him: within four or fife dayes after, Maister Scriuener and I, being a little from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a Cudgell, and all newly painted with Terra sigillata, came circling about mee, as though they would haue clubed out like a hare: I knew their faining love is towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to preuent the worst, I calling Maister

Scriuener, retired to the Fort; the Indians seeing me suspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our Fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie: they offered to beate him, I in perswading them to forbear, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure, for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort; whereupon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend them. The president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembering at the first assault, they came in like manner, and never else but against some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the event, eight more we ceazed at that present, an hour after came three or four strangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinnes and shooting gloues, their iealousie and feare, betrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day came first an Indian, then another as Embassadors for their men, they desired to speak with me, our discourse was, that what Spades, Shovels, swords or tools they had stolne, to bring home, (if not the next day, they should hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which mischiefe no punishment will prevent but hanging, and these they would should redeem their owne 16. or 18. thus brauing us to our doores, we desired the president, and Captaine Martin, that afternoone to sally vpon them, that they might but know, what we durst to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled and destroyed, what we could, but they brought our men and freely delivered them: the president released one, the rest we brought well-guarded, to Morning and Evening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then caused them to much sorrow, which till then scoffed and scorned at what we durst doe, the Counsel concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to know if I could their intent, the next day I bound one in hold to the maine Mast and presenting six Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life, to answere my demands he could not, but one of his Comonodos* was of the Counsell of Paspahagh that could satisfie me: I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted [him with a pistol] thereat, then with Muskets, which seeing he desired me to stay, and he would confesse to this execution: Maister Scriuener came, his discourse was to this effect, that Paspahagh, the Chickahamanyas, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, and Kiskiack. These nations were altogether a hunting that took me, Paspahagh, and Chickahamanyas, had entended to surprise vs at worke, to haue had our tooles; Powhatan, and al his would seeme friends, till Captaine Nuport's returne, that he had againe his man, which he called Mamontack, where with

* Quere, Comrades?

a great feast he would enamor Captaine Nuport and his men, as they should ceaze on him, and the like traps would be laied for the rest.

This trap for our tooles, we suspected the chiefe occasion was foure daies before Powhatan had sent the boy he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maister Seriuener and mee, vnderstanding I would go vp into his Countries to destroy them, and he doubted it the more, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and children; we sent him word, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to seeke stones to make Hatchets, except his men shoot at vs, as Paspahagh had told vs that they would, which if they did shoot but one arrowe, we would destroy them, and least this mischief might happen, sent the boy to acquaint him thus much, and request him to send vs Weanock, one of his subjects for a guide, ye boy he returned back, with his chest and apparrell which then we had given him, desiring another for him, ye cause was, he was practising with the Chickahamianias, as the boy suspected some villainie, by their extraordinary resort and secret conference from whence they would send him. The boy we keepe, now we would send him many messengers and presents, the guide we desired he sent vs, and withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy, or some other, but none he could haue, and that day these Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others that had loaded at our Fort, returned and being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him and to ye Chikamianias, not long after Weanock yt had been with vs for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourney, with a false excuse returned, and secretly after him Amocis the Paspahayan, who always they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom the better to auido suspition, presently after they came to beare away: these presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of Amocis, the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whose true meaning Captaine Martin most confidently pleaded.

The confession of Macanor, which was the Counsellor of Paspahagh, first I, then Maister Seriuener, vpon their severall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that Paspahagh, and Chickahamianias did hate vs, and intended some mischief, and who they were that tooke me, the names of them that stole our tooles and swords, and that Powhatan receiued them, they all agreed: certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to thinke that their fellowes had been slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certain Saluages, sent his Daughter, a child of tenne years old, which not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit, the only Nonpareil of

his country: this hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person, but of a subtile wit, and crafty vnderstanding, he with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan, loued and respected mee, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindness, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see mee, a Deare, and bread, besides for a present: desiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loued exceedingly, his little Daughter hee had taught this lesson also: not taking notice at all of the Indians that had bene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie.

Opechancanough, sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we would release two that were his friends, and for a token sent me his shooting Gloue, and Bracer, which the day our men was taken vpon, separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same: now all of them having found their peremptorye conditions, but to increase our malice, which they seeing vs begin to threaten vs to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men: In the afternoone, they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gave them to Pocahuntas, the King's Daughter, in regard of her Father's kindness in sending her: after hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had, and with much content, sent them packing: * Pocahuntas, also, we requited, with such trifles as contented her, to tell that we had vsed ye Paspahayans very kindly in so releasing them. The next day we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado, but perfectly wee could not discouer it, two daies after a Paspahayan, came to show vs a glistering Minerall stone; and with signes demonstrating it to be in great abundance, like vnto Rockes, with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indian to conduct mee: but suspecting this some tricke to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs, or with some Ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him ashore, where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking

* "After Smith had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, and then delivered them *Pocahontas*, for whose sake onely he fayned to haue saved their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine Smith for his crueltie, yet noue was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke, but we had some trecherous villany or other."—*Smith's Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I., pp. 171-2.

either to haue drawn vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the slippe: I shewed him Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise, but for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst, and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all, or the most part well recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to freight home Maister Nelson with Cedar wood,* about which our

* "I cannot deny but both *Smith* and *Skriuener* did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the maior part, that there hornes were to short. But the worst was our gilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands least they should by there art make gold of his bones, &c." * *

"Were it that captaine *Smith* would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations; I know

men going with willing minds, was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England: we now remaining being in good health, all our men wel contented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, and as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians, where we doubt not but by God's gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing mindes, and speedie furtherance to so honorable an action in after times, to see our Nation to enjoy a Country not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for commerce in generall, no doubt pleasing to almightie God, honorable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

not, but I haue heard him oft question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their darty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt."—*Smith's Hist. of Va., Vol. I, p. 169.*

"So opposit was Captaine *Martin* to any thing but onely to fraught this ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* desired to relade her with Cedar," &c.—p. 170.

FINIS.

[REDACTED]



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